



GUACANAGARI	PONTIAC	BLACK HAWK
MONTZUMA	CAPTAIN PIPE	KEOKUK
GLATIMOTZIN	LOGAN	SACAGAWEA
POWHATAN	CORNPLANTER	BENITO JUAREZ
POCAHONTAS	JOSEPH BRANT	MANGUS
SAMOSEY	RED JACKET	COLORADAS
MASSASOIT	LITTLE TURTLE	LITTLE CROW
KING PHILIP	TECUMSEH	SITTING BULL
UNCAS	OSCEOLA	CHIEF JOSEPH
TEDYUSKUNG	SEQUOYA	GERONIMO
	SHARONEE	

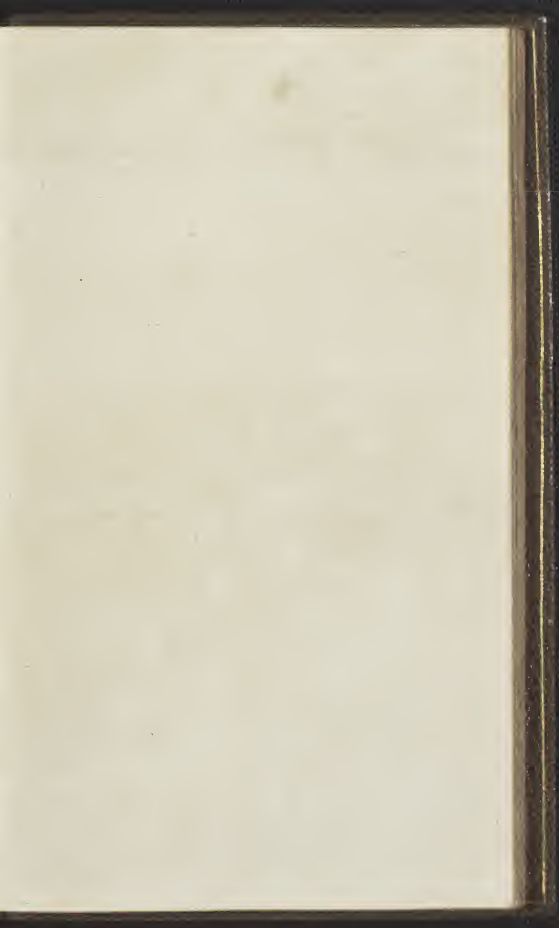


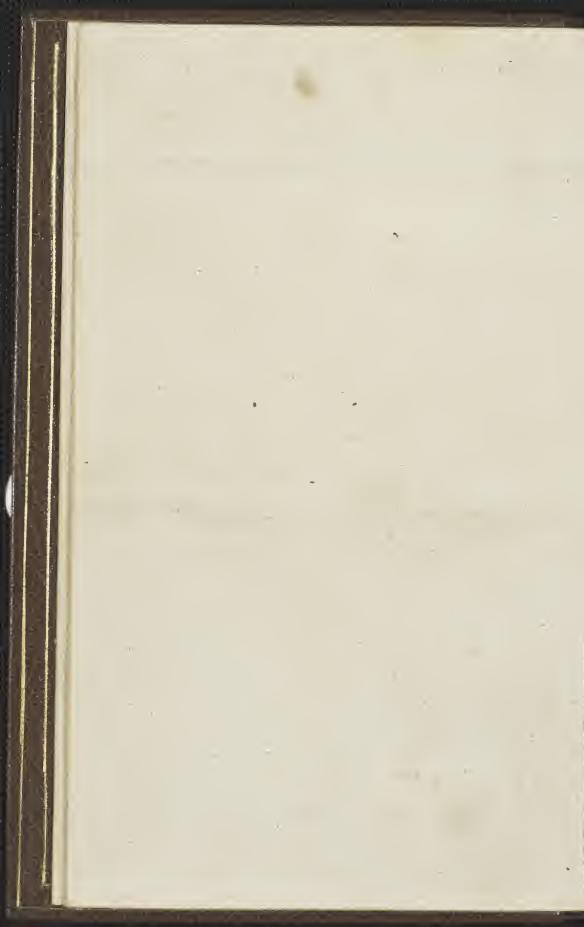
TO PERPETUATE THE HISTORY  
AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE  
PEOPLE REPRESENTED BY THE  
ABOVE CHIEFS AND WISE MEN  
THIS COLLECTION HAS BEEN  
GATHERED BY THEIR FRIEND  
**EDWARD EVERETT AYER**

AND PRESENTED BY HIM  
TO  
**THE NEWBERRY LIBRARY**  
1911



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# *A TREATISE,*

ON THE MODE AND MANNER OF INDIAN WAR,  
THEIR TACTICS, DISCIPLINE AND ENCAMPMENTS,  
THE VARIOUS METHODS THEY PRACTISE, IN  
ORDER TO OBTAIN THE ADVANTAGE, BY  
AMBUSH, SURPRISE, SURROUNDING, &c.  
WAYS AND MEANS PROPOSED TO PREVENT THE  
INDIANS FROM OBTAINING THE ADVANTAGE.  
A CHART, OR PLAN OF MARCHING, AND ENCAMPING, LAID DOWN,  
WHEREBY WE MAY UNDOUBTEDLY SURROUND  
THEM, IF WE HAVE MEN SUFFICIENT.  
ALSO—A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF TWEN-  
TY-THREE CAMPAIGNS, CARRIED ON  
AGAINST THE INDIANS WITH  
THE EVENTS, SINCE THE  
YEAR 1755; GOV. HARRI-  
SON'S INCLUDED.

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BY COL. JAMES SMITH.

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LIKEWISE—SOME ABSTRACTS SELECTED FROM HIS  
JOURNAL, WHILE IN CAPTIVITY WITH THE IN-  
DIANS, RELATIVE TO THE WARS: WHICH  
WAS PUBLISHED MANY YEARS AGO. BUT  
FEW OF THEM NOW TO BE FOUND.

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PARIS KENTUCKY,

—...—PRINTED BY JOEL R. LYLE—...—

—1812.—

*United States of America,*  
District of Kentucky.

**B**E IT REMEMBERED, that on the 17th day of April A. D. 1812, and in the 26th year of the Independence of the United States, *James Smith* of the said District hath deposited in this Office the title of a Book, the right whereof he claims as author in the words & figures following, to wit: A Treatise on the mode and manner of the Indian War. Their tactics, discipline and encampments; the various methods they practise, in order to obtain the advantage, by ambush, surprise, surrounding, &c. Ways and means proposed to prevent the Indians from obtaining the advantage. A chart, or plan of marching and encamping laid down, whereby we may undoubtedly surround them, if we have men sufficient. Also a brief account of twenty-three Campaigns carried on against the Indians, with the events, since the year 1755; Governor Harrison's included.

BY COL. JAMES SMITH.

LIKEWISE, some abstracts selected from his Journal while in captivity with the Indians, relative to the wars; which was published many years ago, but few of them now to be found.


In conformity to the act of Congress of the United States entitled "an act for the encouragement of Learning, by securing the Copies of Maps, Charts and Books to the authors and proprietors of such Copies during the terms therein mentioned," and also to an act entitled "an act supplementary to an act entitled an act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the Copies of Maps, Charts & Books to the authors & proprietors of such Copies during the terms therein mentioned, and extending the benefits thereof to the arts of designing engraving, and etching, historical and other prints.

JOHN H. HANNA,  
Clerk of the District of Kentucky.



## TO THE READER.

IT WILL BE GRANTED, that the use of history is, that we may improve by experience.—At the first settlement of New-England they had a long Indian war: it is said for thirty years; they found by experience that sending men to guard the frontier would not answer the purpose—Therefore had to send an army into their Towns. The New-Englanders became very expert in the Indian war, and destroyed large numbers of their savage enemies and brought them to terms of peace.—But left very little on record, of the particulars; of how this war was carried on: therefore they are now in a great measure ignorant of the Indian war, and the stratagems they practised. In Braddack's war the Indians asserted that they killed fifty of the white men, for one that was killed of them; exclusive of the prisoners; they said they had fifty scalps for one that they lost. I was prisoner with the Indians during the whole of this war, I know that they lost but very few.—And all the frontier counties for about three hundred miles in length, and thirty in breadth were laid waist; excepting a few stations; and the houses, fences, &c. reduced to ashes.—If New-England had only left on record what they had learned of the nature of the Indian war; with particular directions how to proceed against them; and this had been duly attended to, would it not have saved many hundreds of lives at the time of Braddock's war?—In the next Indian war, in the year 1763, &c. the people by sore experience had gained such knowledge of the nature



of the Indian war that they kept their ground : only some on the frontiers were collected into stations.—In the time of the British and Indian war, the Virginians had so improved in the knowledge of this kind of war, that Kentucky was settled in opposition to both the Indians and British.—And shall we do nothing to preserve and communicate this useful knowledge which cost many thousands of lives before we obtained it ?

After my return from captivity I served from an Ensign to a Captain under King George in the regular service, under the pay of Pennsylvania. At the time of the British war ; I acted as a militia Col. and was engaged against the British and frequently against the Indians.—By hearing the Indians while I was a prisoner, telling, in their own tongue ; which I was well acquainted with ; the many ways that they took to fool the white people—and being employed against them as already mentioned ; by keeping Journals, &c. perhaps I had as great an opportunity of knowing their subtle proceedings as any one now living.—I have served in civil & military business thirty years : I am now a poor old man ; my cotemporaries are chiefly all gone ; and the only thing I can now do to serve my country as a patriot, is to lay before the publick something of the nature of the Indian war, which (if only attended to) I make no doubt may be a means of saving many lives, if an indian war cannot be prevented.

*Indian Discipline, & Method of War.*

I have often heard the British officers call the Indians undisciplined savages—but this is a capital mistake ; they have all the essentials of discipline—they are under good command, punctual in obeying orders : they can act in concert, and when their officers lay a plan, and give orders, they will cheerfully unite in putting all their directions into immediate execution, and by each man observing the motion or movement of his right hand companion, they can communicate the motion from right to left, and march abreast, in concert, and in scattered order, though the line may be more than a mile long, and continue if occasion requires it, for a considerable distance, without disorder or confusion. They can perform various necessary manoeuvres, either slowly, or as fast as they can run : they can form a circle or a semicircle ; the circle they make use of in order to surround their enemy, and the semicircle if the enemy has a river on the one side of them. They can also form a large hollow square, this they do if the enemy is like to surround them, to prevent being shot from either side of the trees.—When they go into battle, they are not loaded or incumbered with many clothes, they commonly fight naked, save only the breech-clout, leggins and mockasons. There is no such thing as corporal punishment used in order to bring them under command ; degrading is the only chastisement, and they are so unanimous in this that it effectually answers the purpose. Their officers plan, order and conduct matters until they are brought into action, and then each man is to fight as if he were to gain the battle himself.—General orders are commonly given in the time of battle, either to advance or retreat, and this is done by a shout or yell which is well understood, and then they advance or retreat in concert. They are commonly well equipped, and exceedingly

active and expert in the use of arms. When an army is on the way against them, they take every method that is possible to discover their numbers, their mode of marching, encampments, &c. They send out their most active runners as spies, who will when the wind is high, that the centinels cannot hear them crawling, slip past the centinels and view the camp.—They will also carefully explore the place of encampment after the army is gone, & if they find that they encamp on a small piece of ground, and in close order, it greatly encourages them to make an attack ; because if they can suddenly drive in the advance guards, and rush in around them, and get behind trees, & while they are in this position—that is in close order, they have frequently killed twenty to one. In Braddock's defeat they killed about a hundred to one ; in Grant's defeat nearly the same. By the Indians' accounts there was but 15 Indians killed & wounded ; and in Loughrey's, they were all killed and taken, and not one Indian killed.—Encamping or marching in close order, has I think been the principal cause of the defeat of every army that ever fell, from Braddock's defeat until this day ; because if they had only encamped on a large hollow square ; and marched in an oblong square, and the orders had been in case of an attack to face out & take trees ; it would I think have taken the Indians some days to have killed as many as they did in comparatively a short time. The Virginians in scattered order at the the mouth of Kanhawa, fought the Indians from sun rise to sun down ; gained the battle and lost about one hundred men.—The Indians take prisoners in order to obtain news, & threaten them with death if they will not tell, and also tell them if they will not tell the truth, they will find it out afterwards : and then put them to a cruel death.—They also make use of pretended friend Indians in order to obtain news.

The year of Braddock's campaign, some time before the battle, our Delaware friends left us and went over to the enemy.—Could it be supposed that undisciplined savages could defeat Braddock, Grant, &c. &c.—It may be said, that the French and English were also engaged with the Indians in war against us. True they were ; yet I know it was but little aid that the Indians received from them, excepting that they supplied them with arms, provisions, ammunition, &c. It was the Indians that laid the plan of Braddock's Defeat and with small assistance put it into execution. The Indians had no aid from the French or any other power when they besieged Fort-Pitt, in 1763, and cut off the communication between that post and Fort Loudon, for about 6 months, and would have defeated gen. Boquets' army, who were on the way to raise the siege, had it not been for the assistance of the Virginia volunteers. Col. Barret with his volunteers fought in the front for some time, but was overpowered by numbers and drove in ; Col. Barrett then went to the general, and told him to force his men out on every direction so as to form a hollow square, and get behind trees, and if they did not do this, the army would be cut off. The general complied with this advice. Then Col. Barrett also applied to the gen. for four hundred of his men ; this was also granted. Col. Barrett then collected those men to the centre of the square, and ordered to them strip to their shirts & tie handkerchiefs round their heads which was the dress that the volunteers wore. As the army was not altogether surrounded, the Col. with these men and the volunteers, sallied out at a gap and came round behind the Indians. And they finding that they were between two fires immediately fled, and never attempted attacking the army again.—Had it not been for Col. Barret Fort-Pitt would then have fallen into the hands of the enemy ;

for they were almost out of provisions; and another army could not have been sent that year, as it was now late in the fall.—Thus the Generalship and bravery of Col. Barrett, and his Virginia volunteers; were the means of saving the army and Fort Pitt.—When the British made their official report to England, the Virginians or Col. Barrett were not mentioned.—It was stated that the Red-Coats had done all!\*

The Indians had no British troops with them when they defeated Col. Crawford, near the Sandusky, in the time of the American war with Great Britain; or when they defeated Gen. Loughrey, on the Ohio, near the Miami, on his way to meet Gen. Clark: this was also in the time of the British war. It was the Indians alone that defeated Col. Todd in Kentucky, near the blue-Lick, in the year 1782; and Col. Harmer betwixt the Ohio and lake Erie, in the year 1790, and Gen. St. Clair, in the year 1791: and it is said that there were more of our men killed at this defeat, than there were in any one battle during our contest with Great-Britain.—Let us now take a view of the blood and treasure that was spent in opposing comparatively a few Indian Warriors. Additional to the amazing destruction and slaughter that the frontiers sustained in being laid waist from Round-Oak to Susquehanna and about thirty miles broad,—the following campaigns were also carried on against the Indians.—General Braddock's in the year 1755, in Braddock's battle, according to the unanimous accounts given by the Indians among themselves, while I was a prisoner, with them—there were only seven Indians killed. Col. Armstrong's against the Cattanyan town, on the Allegheny, in 1757—General Forbes's in 1758—General

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\* Col. Barrett and many more of us, were then faithful servants to a very ungrateful and tyrannical nation.



Stanwick's 1759—General Monkton's in 1760—General Boquet's in the year 1761—General Boquet's in the year 1763—when he fought the battle on the Brushy-run, where one hundred men were killed and a great many wounded: but by the assistance of the Virginians drove the Indians, as already mentioned. In this battle there were eighteen Indians found dead on the ground: Boquet's campaign against the Indians at Muskingum in 1764—Col. Armstrong's against the Indians up the west branch of Susquehanna in 1763—Gen. Broadstreet's up lake Erie in 1764—Lord Dunmoore's in 1774—this year the Indians fought even the Virginia riflemen one whole day at the mouth of the great Kanhawa, and when they found that they could not prevail against them, they made a most artful retreat. Notwithstanding they had the Ohio to cross, some continued firing whilst others were crossing the river with the wounded: in this manner they proceeded until they all got over the Ohio before the Virginians knew that they had retreated. In this battle there were twenty Indians found on the ground. In the foregoing defeats the Indians fought with an inferior number, though in this, it was not the case.—Gen. M'Intosh's campaign, in 1778—Col. Crawford's shortly after his—Gen. Clarke's in 1778 and in 1780, against the Wabash in 1786—Col. Boman's in 1779, Gen. Logan's against the Shawanoes in 1786—Gen. Wilkinson's in———Col. Harmer's in 1790—& Gen. St. Clair's in 1791—Gen. Wayne's in 1794—which in all are twenty-two campaigns, beside smaller expeditions, viz. Col. Grant's battle near Fort-Pitt—Col. Edwards's expedition—the French-Creek expedition—Col. Loughrey's defeat, &c. Col. Loughrey when on his way from Fort-Pitt to join Col. Clark; near the mouth of Miami, some of his men went on shore, and

killed a buffalo; then all went on shore to cook & collected in a huddle, which is the very position the Indians earnestly desire to find the white men in;—The Indians finding the Col. and his men in this way, surrounded them and killed or took them every one, and there were but a few of them taken prisoners.—And though this company were riflemen, and chiefly good marksmen; yet by the account the prisoners gave when they returned from captivity, they did not kill one Indian, in this defeat.—The Indians do not regard the number of the white men, if they can only get them in a huddle, they will fight them ten to one, and frequently defeat them. It is a very disagreeable thing for me to tell the above story, of the bad conduct and dismal slaughter of my dear friends and neighbors, which many of them were. But I judge it necessary as a warning to others. All the abovementioned campaigns &c. were exclusive of the many thousands of men that were internally employed in scouting parties, and in erecting forts, guarding stations, &c. When we take the foregoing occurrences into consideration; may we not reasonably conclude that the Indians are the best disciplined troops for a wooden country in the known world? Is it not the best discipline that has the greatest tendency to annoy the enemy and save their own men? I apprehend that Indian discipline is as well calculated to answer the purpose in the woods of America as the British discipline in Flanders: the British discipline in the woods is the way to have men slaughtered, with scarcely any chance of defending themselves.—Let us take a view of the benefits we have received, by what little we have learned of their art of war, which cost us dear and the loss we have sustained for want of it, and then see if it will not be well worth our while to retain what we have, and also to improve in this neces-



sary branch of business. Though we have made considerable proficiency in this line, and in some respects outdo the Indians, viz. as marksmen, & in cutting our rifles, and keeping them in good order : yet I apprehend we are far behind them in their manoeuvres, or in being able to surprise, or prevent a surprise. May we not conclude that the progress we had made in their art of war, contributed considerably towards our success in various respects, when contending with Great-Britain for liberty. Had the British King attempted to enslave us before Braddock's war, in all probability he might readily have done it, because we were unacquainted with war ; but after fighting such an artful, subtle barbarous enemy as the Indians, we were not terrified at the approach of the British red coats. Was not Burgoyne's defeat accomplished in some measure, by the Indian mode of fighting ? And did not Gen. Morgan's riflemen and others fight with greater success, in consequence of what they had learned of their art of war ? Kentucky would not have been settled at the time it was, had the Virginians been altogether ignorant of this method of war.—Our government has given great encouragement for improvement in various respects ; and our free Americans have found out some curious and useful inventions. And may we not also improve in this necessary branch of self-defence in our wooden country ? About ten years ago I was about three months in the Indian towns as a missionary, and they conversed freely with me in their own tongue on various subjects ; they told me that some of the small scouting parties in Kentucky were equal to any Indians for a wood fight. What is the reason that small parties according to their number stand their hand better with the Indians than a General with a large army ? Because it is easier for a small party to learn to act

in concert in scattered order without running into confusion, than a large army ; also because the most of the Generals never attempted marching or encamping in scattered order. But General Wayne contrived a discipline of his own in scattered order, that answered the purpose. Supposing then a thousand of such Indians, as we have had to fight, were well equipped and kept in arms, ammunition, provision, &c. and they disposed to fight could any European power penetrate into this wooden country ? Would they not kill any Europeans, perhaps fifty to one ? In Braddock's battle they killed about one hundred to one. We have more good rifles, marksmen, and bold fellows than the Indians ; all we want is Indian discipline. As war with the Indians and British appears unavoidable, would it not be well for government to encourage Indian discipline as means of defending ourselves, without retaining their barbarity.—Though large volumes have been written on morality, yet it may be all summed up in saying ; do as you would wish to be done by ; so the Indians sum up the art of war in the following manner. The business of the private warriors is to be under command or punctually to obey orders, to learn to march abreast in scattered order so as to be in readiness to surround the enemy or prevent being surrounded, to be good marksmen, and active in the use of arms, to practise running, to learn to endure hunger or hardship with patience & fortitude, to tell the truth at all times to their officers, but more especially when sent out to spy the enemy. *Concerning Officers.*---They say that it would be absurd to appoint a man an officer whose skill and courage had never been tried ; that all officers should be advanced only according to merit ; that no one man should have the absolute command of an army---that a council of officers are to determine when, and how

an attack is to be made—that it is the business of the officers to lay plans to take every advantage of the enemy—to ambush and surprise them, and to prevent being ambushed and surprised themselves ; it is the duty of officers to prepare & deliver speeches to the men, in order to animate and encourage them ; & on the march to prevent the men at any time from getting into a huddle, because if the enemy should surround them in this position they would be exposed to the enemy's fire on every quarter. It is likewise their business at all times to endeavour to annoy their enemy and save their own men, and ought therefore never to bring on an attack without considerable advantage, or without what appeared to them the sure prospect of victory, & that with the loss of few men : and if at any time they should be mistaken in this, and are like to lose many men by gaining the victory, it is their duty to retreat, and wait for a better opportunity of defeating their enemy, without the danger of losing too many men. Their conduct proves that they act upon these principles, therefore it is, that from Braddock's defeat until the Big Kanhawa battle, in 1774, they scarcely ever made an unsuccessful attack.—The Indians will commonly retreat if their men is falling fast—they will not stand cutting like the Highlanders or other British troops : but this proceeds from a compliance with their rules of war, rather than cowardice. If they are surrounded they will fight while there is a man of them alive, rather than surrender. When Col. Armstrong surrounded the Cattanyan-town, Capt. Jacobs a Delaware chief with some warriors took possession of a house and defended themselves for sometime, and killed a number of our men. As Jacobs could speak English, he was called on to surrender : he said that he and his men were warriors, and that they would fight while life re-

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mained. He was again told that they should be well used, if they would only surrender; and if not that the house should be burned down over their heads:—Jacobs replied he could eat fire; & when the house was in a flame, he and they that were with him came out in a fighting position and were all killed.—I have now given a brief account of the Indian discipline, their warlike proceedings, &c.—I shall now lay down some rules for the march & encampments of an army, so that the Indians may not get the advantage of them, and if possible to lead the Indians into a snare, by surrounding them. Also directions for stations on the frontiers, for scouting parties, spies, &c. Let the army march in an oblong square, the square to be at least forty or fifty rods broad; the Light-Horse and Light-Infantry in the inside of the square, in the front and rear thereof, in order to sally out and surround the enemy: the baggage to be in the centre of the square. In case of an attack on the march, let the men face out in every quarter of the square, and take trees, and the Light-Horse and Light-Infantry sally out & surround the enemy, as laid down in the following chart.

This line is the Light-Horse & Light-Infantry, surrounding the

This line is the Indians surrounding three squares of

Indians  
to the army.

The Light-Horse and  
Light-Infantry.

The baggage here in  
the centre, & Light-  
Infantry and Light-  
Horse.

When those in the outside make the attack behind—  
the Indians let the three squares advance speedily.

the other corner to meet and surround.

-- This line is the Light-Horse and Light-Infantry sallying out from

The Light-Horse and Light-Infantry may surround only those opposite to one square at a time, or otherwise as it may appear best; and when this square or squares find that the Indians are surrounded, let them rush forward with all their might.—In this large square the officers may ride about and give orders to every quarter, without being in great danger: but let them keep moving; for Indians want to kill any one they can see, acting as an officer.—I would propose that one third of the army; that is the Light-Horse & best of the runners, be kept in the inside of the square for the aforesaid purpose of surrounding.—And if any of the squares should at any time give way, and the Indians follow after; they would only cast themselves into the heart of our army, and be in the very way to be surrounded. And it may be well to keep a small reserve of the Light-Horse & Light-Infantry, within the square for this purpose.—When the army encamps; let them pitch their tents in a large hollow square, as laid down in the following Chart.





If the army consists of two thousand men, the hollow square may include thirty or forty acres : and this will be a much better position for fighting Indians than in close order ; with the additional advantage of securing our horses & bullocks. The Indians have in almost every expedition that ever went out against them, taken large numbers of horses ; but if there is not room for both bullocks and horses in the square, let the bullocks be left out ; for the Indians are not so ready to take bullocks, because they cannot drive them speedily. As there will be centinels in the outside of the tents, it may be their business, not only to watch for the enemy, but also to keep in the horses.—In case of an attack, let the men face out on every square and take trees ; and let not the old proverb be fulfilled, that *a fool is soon shot* ; let them be well concealed and not fire until they see their enemy & let them take good sight on their mark ; when a large number of guns is fired at or near one time & not many killed it encourages the Indians to advance, on empty arms. Let the Light-Horse & Light-Infantry sally out & surround, as stated in the oblong square—& if possible let them get round privately ; if they can find a gap to pass out undiscovered, the Indians cannot hear the horses feet for the firing. This method has in time past, proved successful as appears by the battle of Brush-run, already mentioned. It may be necessary before they march, frequently to put the men through the aforesaid manoeuvres, that the men and officers may know what they are about.—Gen. Wayne as a wise commander, used great diligence, both at Fort-Pitt and Cincinnati, in putting the men through his scattered mode of fighting. I was not with Gen. Wayne, and did not see his proceedings ; but I apprehend his plan was to out-flank the Indians and rush upon them ;



which was a good method to gain the battle and drive them. But I apprehend that we will never kill or take a great many Indians in this way ; because they will not stand cutting ; they will make their escape very speedily, and come to a treaty, make peace : and when it suits them commence war again. Every one of my age in this part of the country, must know that this has undoubtedly been the case with the Shawanoes & their confederates ever since the year 1755. During this time five treaties have been made & broken, viz. Forbes's in 1758, Gen. Boquet's in 1764, Dunmore's in 1774 ; also a treaty in the west part of Pennsylvania immediately after the war with Great Britain ; Gen. Wayne's in 1794. I shall offer my reasons for preferring the hollow square before the long line of battle. Although either of these plans is preferable to close order, yet on the long line, if any of the wings should retreat and the Indians pursue them, it might be a disadvantage ; but on the hollow square if one square should retreat and the Indians pursue them, it might be a real advantage, as the Indians would thereby expose themselves to being surrounded.—As we can send more than double as many men into the field of battle, as the Indians can raise, (and the more men the better chance of surrounding,) I think upon the aforesaid plan we may surround them in spite of their hearts. And if they find that they cannot fight us without being unavoidably surrounded, this may be a means of a lasting peace. I am of the opinion that nothing but fear will cause the Shawanoes and their confederates to stand a treaty, while they have the British to supply and encourage them.—

*Directions for the Frontier Stations, scouting parties, spies, &c.*

I have observed that the frontier stations were well on their guard immediately after some damage had been done; at or near where they lived: but this is perhaps the safest time of any, for Indians do not commonly soon return where the people has been lately alarmed; because their scheme is to surprise those that are not upon their guard. The Indians spy well before they give the fatal blow, and in this they are sometimes obstructed by bold dogs, they are very artful in spying: they told me when I was a prisoner among them, that when the wind blew so that the dogs could not smell them, they slipped up to the window peeped in and counted the people by the fire side: in the stations they ought to be up a little before day and rouse the dogs, which are sometimes asleep, and let them have their guns in their hands by the break of day; because that is the time that the Indians commonly make the attack, then let the working hands go to work, and the militia guard the station & the working hands. If one or two have to go from one place to another, they ought to take the woods, because the Indians frequently way-lay roads. If a scouting party, should at any time march along a road, they ought to march in Indian file and each man to be one rod or two behind the other, and keep out flankers: In case of an attack let the front wheel to the right, & the rear to the left, raise a shout and advance speedily in scattered order and take trees. If the front that was first fired upon should be obliged to give way, let the right and left wing if possible surround them. The Indians will not stand this because it is contrary to their maxims to fight upon any disadvantage if they can possibly avoid it.— The stations and scouting parties should be always in

readiness to pursue, when any danger may be done ; & for this purpose they ought to keep by them torches made of linen rags and tallow, in order to follow the track in the night ; and if they find by the water being muddy, by the horse dung being warm, or otherwise, that the Indians are not far before them, let them not try to gain upon them, but keep still a little behind them until night ; and then light the torch, and keep a spy or two out ahead, and when they discover the Indians fire place, let them put out the light and slip up as cautiously as possible, & if it is a moon-light night that you can know an Indian from a white man, you may fire upon them ; but get as nigh as you can, and then let only one half fire, and the other rush up with loaded guns and tomahawks. But if it is a dark night it may be best to endeavour to surround them and lie still until the break of day. The Indians never make an attack in a dark night but when they think they have a sure prospect of driving the enemy immediately ; because they may be in danger of getting into confusion and kill one another. By the aforesaid method the Indians have traced up our people in the night with only shell-bark hickory lights : and many of our frontier rangers at the time of the last Indian war could track as well as Indians.—If spies are sent out to discover the approach of the enemy, they had best go out ten or fifteen miles on the outside of the settlement ; because when the Indians come nigh they march abreast, to prevent being tracked.—Much more may be said on this subject ; but at last it would not fully answer the purpose of guarding our frontiers. Were we to act upon the defensive only the Indians could keep us at war a long time (as they did after the first settlement of New-England) and enrich themselves by taking horses & all kinds of plunder. Our

frontiers are extensive, and long experience has taught us that this way of fighting Indians will not answer the purpose—And that nothing but sending an army into their country will be a means of defending our frontiers.—The method that government formerly pursued was to suffer the frontiers to be exposed to all manner of cruelty and savage barbarity for several years, and then send an insufficient number with commanders unacquainted with the nature of Indian war; and after repeated defeats, they had to increase their number and change their mode of fighting before they succeeded. For instance, Boquet by the advice of Barrett, and Gen. Wayne a bold and wise commander carefully taught his men how they should proceed in scattered order before he marched into their country. Several expeditions from Kentucky by different commanders with comparatively few men, succeeded or were not defeated, because their commanders and men understood the business. I think if Gen. Logan; or the other Kentucky commanders had only been supplied with as many men as some of the European Generals had\*; they would have made short work of the Indian war.—I do not know one instance, in the aforesaid two and twenty campaigns, where a commander went against the Indians in close order but what was defeated. And is it not high time that we should learn wisdom by long repeated experience? The Shawanoe Prophet and his brother after repeated, unsufferable insolence, and after robbing the United States' salt; they also killed and scalped in several places, took a young woman prisoner, &c.—Governor Harrison, on

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\* General Forbes had about seven thousand men, Gen. Stanwick, Monkton & Boquet had also large armies.

this situation of things, did not, as usual, suffer the frontiers to be exposed to savage cruelty for several years: But immediately marched an army into their country: and that only with a design if possible to make peace. But the perfidious, diabolical Prophet, after professing friendship made a violent attack on the Governor in the night.—It is contrary to the rules of the Indian warfare to make an attack in a dark night, except they have the sure prospect of victory, or of instantaneously driving all before them. And I make no doubt but the Prophet and his warriors were fully persuaded that this would be the case. But by the uncommon bravery of the Governor and those under his command, the savage fanatic and his warriors were sorely disappointed, in their sanguine, malicious expectations.—Yes, and I am also joyfully disappointed, because if I had been told of the manner that so many Indians made the attack, without knowing the event, I would certainly have concluded that the whole army was defeated.—Yet wonderful! they gained the victory, notwithstanding the disadvantage that they laboured under. In all the aforesaid two and twenty campaigns carried on against the Indians; I never heard of as many Indians found dead on the battle ground as in this twenty-third expedition of Governor Harrison's.—Notwithstanding a number of the Indian nations profess friendship; when we consider the five treaties they have broken in about fifty years; the importunity of the Prophet and his party, British bribery Shaker-influence, their late treachery with Governor Harrison, &c ought we not to keep a jealous eye over them? And if a campaign appears necessary this spring, would it not be best to send out an army sufficient to oppose the different nations near us, and at the same time to do every thing we could to keep them at

peace? Would it not be better to have several hundreds more than would be needful, than to have nearly one thousand killed and those that were wounded of them, cruelly put to death; as was the case at Gen. St. Clair's defeat?—If a sufficient army should be sent out in proper order for fighting Indians; it is likely that they would not oppose us—but come to our terms, and this may be a means of deterring the different nations from falling in with the British, in case a war with them may be unavoidable. If I was asked how I came to the knowledge of the aforesaid account from the year 1755, until this time—I answer, that I was eye or ear witness to a considerable part of it, and I received the best information that I could obtain: and as I was long in the habit of keeping Journals, by this means I retained it.—I am most in doubt about the account that I have given of Gov. Harrison's battle, because I only began to write this piece, immediately after I heard the news thereof, and I have stated it according to the best information I could obtain at this time\*.

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\* Since I wrote the above, relative to Governor Harrison's Battle; I have seen the Governor's official return: this and the different corroborating extracts of letters from officers and gentlemen of veracity that were in the battle makes it evidently appear that I have no reason to retract or mitigate any thing I have said on that subject; but the very reverse: the conquest appears now greatly magnified. From what I know of Indian proceedings; I have reason to believe that the prophet would have attacked the Governor long before he did, if he could have obtained the advantage; Indians will not bring on a battle; without they apprehend that they have the advantage. But the Governor's caution and good Generalship, prevented him of this.—Therefore the Prophet's last stratagem was to surprise the Gov. in the night; and in this he was awfully disappointed. I think it now evidently appears that Gov. Harrison gave the Indians a severer stroke than ever they got at one time before, in any of the aforesaid two and twenty campaigns. This may appear strange to those who are unacquainted with the Indian war. But it is not easy to kill Indians, because they are a very subtle artful enemy.—And there never was many of them killed, and comparatively very few.



I have endeavoured to give a brief account of Indian intrigues; and how to avoid them.—I speak as unto wise men, judge ye what I have said.—In order to give a further account of Indian occurrences I shall select and transcribe some passages from my Indian Journal, during five years captivity with them, which was published many years ago: but not many of them now to be found.

*An extract from the 6th page, &c.*

In the afternoon we came in full view of Fort Duquesne which stood on the point below where Fort-Pitt now stands. We then made a halt on the bank of the Allegheny, and repeated the scalp halloo, which was answered by the firing of all the firelocks in the hands of both Indians and French who were in and about the fort, and also the great guns, which were followed by the continued shouts and yells of the different tribes who were then collected there.

As I was at this time unacquainted with this mode of firing and yelling of the savages, I concluded that there were thousands of Indians there ready to receive Gen. Braddock: but what added to my surprise, I saw numbers running towards me, stripped naked, excepting breech-clouts, and painted in the most hideous manner, of various colors, though the principal colour was vermillion or a bright red; yet there was annexed to this, black, brown, blue, &c. As they approached they formed themselves into two long ranks, about two or three rods apart.—I was told by an Indian that could speak English that I must run betwixt these ranks, and that they would flog me all the way, as I run, and if I would run quick, it would be so much the better, as they would quit when I got to the end of the ranks. There appeared to be a general rejoicing around me, yet I could find nothing like joy in

my breast ; but I started to the race with all the resolution and vigor I was capable of exerting, and found that it was as I had been told ; for *I* was flogged the whole way. When *I* had got near the end of the lines I was struck with something that appeared to me to be a stick or the handle of a tomahawk, which caused me to fall to the ground. I endeavoured to renew my race ; but as I rose some one cast sand in my eyes, so that *I* could not see where to run. They continued beating me most intolerably, until I was at length insensible. The first thing I remember after *I* lost my senses, was my being in the fort amidst the French & Indians, and a French Doctor standing by me, who had opened a vein in my left arm : after which the interpreter asked me how I did, I told him *i* felt much pain : the Doctor then washed my wounds, and the bruised places of my body with French Brandy. As *i* felt faint and brandy smelt well, *i* asked for some inwardly, but the Doctor by the interpreter said that it did not suit my case. When they found *i* could speak, a number of indians came around me, and examined me with threats of cruel death, if *i* did not tell the truth. The first question they asked me, was, how many men there were in the party of road cutters that were coming from Virginia to join Braddock ? *i* told them the truth, that there were three hundred ; the next question was, were they well armed, I told them that they were all well armed (meaning the arm of flesh) for they had only about thirty guns among the whole of them ; which if the indians had known they would certainly have gone and cut them all off : therefore *i* could not in conscience let them know the defenceless situation of these road cutters. *i* was then sent to the hospital, and carefully attended by the Doctors ; and recovered quicker than *i* expected.



Sometime after I was there, I was visited by an indian who was at the taking of me, and could speak some English. Though he spoke but bad English, yet I found him to be a man of considerable understanding. I asked if I had done any thing that offended the indians, which caused them to treat me so unmercifully? He said no, it was only an old custom among the indians, and was like "*how do you do!*"—After this he said I would be well used. I asked him if I should be admitted to remain with the French? He said no—and told me that as soon as I recovered, I must not only go with the indians, but be made an indian myself! I asked him what news from Braddock's army? He said the indians spied them every day, & he shewed me by making marks on the ground with a stick that Braddock's army was advancing in very close order, and that the indians would surround them and take trees (and as he expressed it) *shoot um down all wan pigeon*.—Shortly after this, on the 9th day of July 1755, in the morning, I heard a great stir in the fort. As I could then walk with a staff in my hand, I went out of the house which was just by the wall of the fort, and viewed the indians in a huddle before the gate, where were barrels of powder, bullets, flints, &c. & every one taking what suited; I saw the indians also march off in indian file—likewise some Canadians, and a few of the regulars. After viewing the indians and French in different positions, I computed them to be about four hundred, and wondered that they attempted to go out against Braddock with so small a party. I was in high hopes that I would soon see them flying before the British troops, and that Gen. Braddock would take the fort and rescue me. I remained anxious to know the event of this day: and in the afternoon, I again observed a great noise and commotion in the fort, and

though at that time I could not understand French, yet I found it was the voice of joy & triumph, & feared they had received what I called *bad news*.

I had observed some of the old country soldiers speak Dutch: As I spoke Dutch I went to one of them, and asked him what was the news? he told me a runner had just arrived, who said that Braddock would certainly be defeated, that the Indians had surrounded him, and were concealed behind trees and in gullies and kept a constant fire upon the English, and that they were then falling in heaps, and if they did not take the river which was the only gap, and make their escape, there would not one man be left alive before sundown. Sometime after this I heard a number of scalp halloos, and a number of Indians coming. I observed they had a great many bloody scalps granediers' caps, canteens, bayonets, &c. with them. They brought the news that Braddock was defeated. After that another company came in, which appeared to be about one hundred, and chiefly Indians, and it appeared to me that almost every one of this company was carrying bloody scalps. After this came another company with a number of waggon horses, and also a great many bloody scalps. Those that were coming in and those that had arrived kept a constant firing of small arms, and also the great guns of the fort which were accompanied with the most hideous savage shouts and yells from all quarters; so that it appeared to me as if the infernal regions had broken loose. About sundown I beheld a small party coming in with about a dozen of prisoners stripped naked, with their hands tied behind their backs, and their faces and part of their bodies blacked—these prisoners they burned to death on the bank of the Allegheny river opposite to the fort. I stood on the fort wall until I beheld them begin to

burn one of these men; they had him tied to a stake, and kept touching him with fire-brands, red hot irons, &c. and he screaming in a most doleful manner!! The Indians in the mean time yelling like infernal spirits. This scene appeared too shocking for me to behold *I* therefore retired to my lodging, both sore and sorry. From the best information *I* could receive, there were only seven Indians killed. According to the Indians' account five hundred of the British lay dead on the field; and according to the official report made by the British, there were seven hundred missing.—The morning after the battle *I* saw Braddock's artillery brought into the Fort. And as the Indians took the lead & were not under the command of the French; they took the chief of the plunder. *I* saw a number of Indians who had large quantities of silver and gold; *I* saw one Indian with about two quarts of money in a handkerchief, a large part of which was gold. As the Indian was drunk and the handkerchief not tied, he staggering about fell, and the money scattered about, this diverted the French that were standing around him very much. The Indian then arose and gathered it up again; the same day *I* saw several Indians in British officers' dress with sash, gold half moons, laced hats, &c. which the British then wore. *I* saw them have also a great many gold and silver watches, which they wore as ornaments about their necks. Some time after this, the Indians demanded me, and *I* was obliged to go with them, to an Indian-town, on the west branch of Muskingum, about twenty miles above the forks, which was called Tullahas, inhabited by Delawares, Caughnewagos & Mohicans.—The day after my arrival at the aforesaid town, a number of Indians collected about me, and one of them began to pull the hair out of my head.—He had some

ashes on a piece of bark, in which he frequently dipped his fingers in order to take the firmer hold, and so he went on as if he had been plucking a turkey, until he had all the hair out of my head, except a small spot about three or four inches square on my crown. This they cut off with a pair of scissors, excepting three locks, which they dressed up in their own mode. Two of these they wrapped round with narrow beaded garter made by themselves for that purpose, and the other platted at full length, and then stuck it full of silver broaches. After this they bored my nose and ears, & fixed me off with ear rings and nose jewels, then they ordered me to strip off my clothes and put on a breech-clout, which *I* did; they then painted my head, face & body in various colours. They put a large belt of wampum on my neck; and so an old chief led me out into the street gave the alarm halloo, coowigh, several times repeated quick, and on this all that were in the town came running and stood round the old chief, who held me by the hand in the midst. As *I* at that time knew nothing of their mode of adoption, and had seen them put to death all they had taken, and as *I* never could find that they saved a man alive at Braddock's defeat, *I* made no doubt but they were about putting me to death in some cruel manner.—The old chief holding me by the hand made a long speech, very loud and when he had done he handed me to three young squaws, who led me down to the river. *I* apprehended that *I* was to be drowned, *I* thought it was better to be drowned than burned; they lead me into the river until the water was up to our middle. The squaws made signs to me to plunge myself into the water, but *I* thought they meant that *I* must be drowned and stood still; after some time they laid violent hands on me to put me under the water. When it came to

the pinch, I did not like to be drowned, though it was better than burning; and I resented with all my might, and they could not get me under the water; this occasioned loud laughter by the multitude that was on the bank of the river. At length one of the squaws made out to speak a little English (for I believe they were afraid of me) and said, *no hurt you*. On this I gave myself up to their ladyships, who were as good as their word: for though they plunged me under water, and washed and rubbed me severely, yet I could not say they hurt me much. These young women then led me up to the council-house, where some of the tribe were ready with new clothes for me. They gave me a new ruffled-shirt, which I put on, also a pair of leggins with ribbands and beads; likewise a pair of mockasons, and garters dressed with beads, porcupine quills, and red hair—also a tinsel laced cappo. They again painted my head and face with various colours, & fixed a bunch of red feathers on one of the locks they had left on the crown of my head, which stood up five or six inches. They seated me on a bear skin, & gave me a pipe, & tomahawk, polecat skin pouch, which contained tobacco and killegenico. When I was thus seated, the Indians came in painted and dressed in their grandest manner. As they came in they took their seats, & for a considerable time there was a profound silence. At length one of the chiefs made a speech, which was delivered to me by an interpreter,—which was as follows:—

“ My son you are now flesh of our flesh, and bone of our bone. By the ceremony that was performed this day, every drop of white blood is washed out of your veins; you are taken into the Caughnewag nation, and initiated into a warlike tribe; you are adopted into a great family, and now received with great se-

riousness and solemnity, in the place of a great man ; after what has passed this day, you are now one of us by an old strong law and custom.—My son, you have nothing to fear, we are now under the same obligations to love, support and defend you, that we are to love and defend one another, therefore you are to consider yourself as one of our people.”

At this time I did not believe this fine speech, especially that of the white blood being washed out of me ; but since that time I found there was much sincerity in said speech—for from that day I never knew them to make any distinction between me and themselves in any respect whatever until I left them.—If they had plenty of clothing &c. I had plenty, if we were scarce we all shared one fate.

*An extract from the 50th page, &c.*

“ in the year 1758, Tecaughretanego, and his little son Nunganey ; Tontiliago and his family, and myself, were encamped on a branch of Scioto a little north of the big barrens that reach to the head of Mad River, Darby and down deer-creek. About Christmas, Tontiliago and his family left us, and we remained there that winter by ourselves.—“ Tecaughretanego who had been a first-rate warrior, statesman and hunter, and though he was now near sixty years age, he was yet equal to the common run of hunters, but subject to the rheumatism, which deprived him of the use of his legs. Shortly after Tontiliago left us, Tecaughretanego became lame, and could scarcely walk out of his hut for two months. I had considerable success in hunting and trapping. Though Tecaughretanego endured much pain and misery, yet he bore it all with wonderful patience, & would often endeavor to entertain me with cheerful conversation. Sometimes he would applaud me for my diligence, skill & activity—and



at other times he would take great care in giving me instructions concerning the hunting and trapping business. He would also tell me that if I failed of success we would suffer very much, as we were about forty miles from any one living that we knew of; yet he would not intimate that he apprehended that we were in any danger, but still supposed that I was fully adequate to the task. Tontiliago left us a little before Christmas, and from that until some time in February we had always plenty of bear's meat, venison, &c. During this time I killed much more than we could use, but having no horses to carry in what I killed, I left the greatest part of it in the woods. In February there came a snow with a crust which made a great noise when walking on it, and frightened away the deer; and as bear, turkey and beaver were scarce here, we got entirely out of provisions. After I had hunted two days without eating any thing and had very short allowance for some days before, I returned late in the evening faint and weary. When I came into the hut, Tecaughretanego asked me what success? I told him not any. He asked me if I was not very hungry? I replied that the keen appetite seemed in some measure to be removed, but I was both faint and weary. He commanded Nungany his little son, to bring me something to eat, & he brought me a kettle with some bones & broth. After eating a few mouthfuls my appetite violently returned, and I thought the victuals had a most agreeable relish, though it was only fox and wild cat bones, which lay about the camp, which the ravens and turkey-buzzards, had picked.—These Nunganey had collected and boiled, until the sinews that remained on the bones would strip off. I speedily finished my allowance, such as it was, and when I had ended my sweet repast, Tecaughretanego asked me how I felt?

I told him that I was much refreshed. He then handed me his pipe & pouch, and told me to take a smoke. I did so. He then said he had something of importance to tell me, if I was composed and ready to hear it. I told him that I was ready to hear him. He said that the reason why he deferred his speech till now, was because few men are in a right humor to hear good talk, when they are extremely hungry, as they are then commonly fretful and discomposed; but as you appear now to enjoy calmness and serenity of mind, I will now communicate to you the thoughts of my heart, and those things that I know to be true.

"*Brother,*

"AS you have lived with the white people, you have not had the same advantage of knowing that the great being above feeds his people, and gives them their meat in due season, as we Indians have, who are frequently out of provisions, and yet are wonderfully supplied, and that so frequently, that it is evidently the hand of the great *Owaneeyo*\* that doth this: whereas the white people have commonly large stocks of tame cattle, that they can kill when they please, and also their barns and cribs filled with grain, and therefore have not the same opportunity of seeing and knowing that they are supported by the ruler of Heaven and Earth."—

"*Brother,*

"I know that you are now afraid that we will all perish with hunger, but you have no just reason to fear this.—

"*Brother,*

"I have been young and now am old—I have

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\* *This is the name of God in their tongue, and signifies the owner and ruler of all things.*



been frequently under the like circumstance that we now are, and that some time or other in almost every year of my life ; yet I have hitherto been supported, and my wants supplied in time of need."

"*Brother,*

"*Owaneeyo* sometimes suffers us to be in want, in order to teach us our dependence upon him, & to let us know that we are to love and serve him : and likewise to know the worth of the favours that we receive, and to make us more thankful."

"*Brother,*

"Be assured that you will be supplied with food, & that just in the right time : but you must continue diligent in the use of means—go to sleep and rise early in the morning and go a hunting—be strong and exert yourself like a man, and the great spirit will direct your way."

The next morning I went out, and steered about an east course. I proceeded on slowly for about five miles, and saw deer frequently, but as the crust on the snow made a great noise, they were always running before I spied them, so that I could not get a shot. A most violent appetite returned, and I became intolerably hungry !—It was now that I concluded that I would run off to Pennsylvania my native country. As the snow was on the ground, and Indian hunters almost the whole of the way before me, I had but a poor prospect of making my escape : but my case appeared desperate. If I stayed here I thought I would perish with hunger, and if I met with indians they could but kill me.—I then proceeded on as fast as I could walk, and when I got about ten or twelve miles from our hut, I came upon fresh buffaloe tracks.—I pursued after, and in a short time came in sight of them, as they were passing through a little glade—I

ran with all my might, and headed them, where I lay in ambush, and killed a very large cow. I immediately kindled a fire and began to roast meat, but could not wait till it was done—I eat it almost raw. When hunger was abated I began to be tenderly concerned for my old Indian brother and the little boy I left in a perishing condition. I made haste and packed up what meat I could carry, secured what I left from the wolves and returned homewards. I scarcely thought on the old man's speech while I was almost distracted with hunger, but on my return was very much affected with it, reflected on myself for my hard heartedness and ingratitude in attempting to run off and leave the venerable old man and little boy to perish with hunger. I also considered how remarkably the old man's speech had been verified in our providentially obtaining a supply. I thought also of that part of his speech which treated of the fractious disposition of hungry people, which was the only excuse I had for my base inhumanity, in attempting to leave them in the most deplorable situation. As it was moon-light, I got home to our hut, and found the old man in his usual good humor. He thanked me for my exertion, and bid me sit down, as I must certainly be fatigued; and he commanded Nunganey to make haste and cook. I told him that I would cook for him, and let the boy lay some meat on the coals for himself—which he did, but eat it almost raw, as I had done. I immediately hung on the kettle with some water, and cut the beef in thin slices, and put them in:—when it had boiled a while, I proposed taking it off the fire, but the old man replied, let it be done enough; this he said in as patient and unconcerned a manner, as if he had not wanted one single meal. He commanded Nunganey to eat no more beef at that time, lest he might hurt himself; but told him to sit

down, and after some time he might sup some broth—this command he reluctantly obeyed.—When we were all refreshed, Tecaughretanego delivered a speech upon the necessity and pleasure of receiving the necessary supports of life with thankfulness, knowing that *Owaneeyo* is the great Giver. Such speeches from an Indian, may be thought incredible; but when we reflect on the Indian war, we may readily conclude that they are not an ignorant or stupid sort of people, or they would not have been such fatal enemies. When they came into our country they outwitted us—and when we sent armies into their country, they outnumbered, and beat us with inferior force; let us also take into consideration that Tecaughretanego was no common person, but was among the Indians, as Socrates in the ancient heathen world; & it may be, equal to him—if not in wisdom and learning, yet, perhaps in patience and fortitude.—Notwithstanding Tecaughretanego's uncommon natural abilities, yet in the sequel of this history, you will see the deficiency of the light of nature, unaided by revelation, in this truly great man.

After this we had plenty of provision.—We remained here until some time in April 1758.—At this time Tecaughretanego had recovered so that he could walk about. We made a bark canoe, embarked, and went down Olentangy some distance, but the water being low, we were in danger of splitting our canoe upon the rocks: therefore Tecaughretanego concluded that we would encamp on shore, and pray for rain. When we encamped, Tecaughretanego made himself a sweat-house; he then prepared hot stones, which he rolled into this hut, and then went into it himself, with a kettle of water in his hand, mixed with a variety of herbs, and when he poured the water on the hot stones,

the herbs excited an odoriferous perfume, he then began to sing aloud. He continued in this vehement hot place about fifteen minutes :—All this he did to purify himself before he would address the *Supreme Being*. When he came out of the sweat-house he began to burn tobacco and pray.—He began each petition with, oh, ho, ho, ho, which is a kind of aspiration, and signifies an ardent wish. I observed that all his petitions were only for immediate or temporal blessings. He began his address by thanksgiving in the following manner.

“ O Great Being *I* thank thee that *I* have obtained the use of my legs again—that *I* am now able to walk about and kill turkeys &c. without exquisite pain and misery ; I know that thou art a hearer and helper, and therefore *I* will call upon thee.

“ *Oh, ho, ho, ho,*

“ Grant that my knees & ankles may be right well, and that *I* may be able not only to walk, but to run, and jump logs as *I* did last fall.

“ *Oh, ho, ho, ho,*

“ Grant that on this voyage we may frequently kill bears, as they may be crossing the Scioto and Sandusky.

“ *Oh, ho, ho, ho,*

“ Grant that we may kill plenty of turkeys along the banks to stew with our fat bear's meat.

“ *Oh, ho, ho, ho,*

“ Grant that rain may come to raise the Olentangy about two or three feet, that we may pass in safety down to Scioto, without danger of our canoe being wrecked on the rocks : and now O Great Being, thou knowest how matters stand.—Thou knowest that *I* am a great lover of tobacco, and though I know not when I may get any more, I now make a present of the las-

I have unto thee, as a free burnt offering ; therefore I expect thou wilt hear and grant these requests, and I thy servant will return thee thanks, and love thee for thy gifts.—During the whole of this scene I sat by Tecaughretanego, and as he went through it with the greatest solemnity, *I* was seriously affected with his prayers. I remained duly composed until he came to the burning of the tobacco, and as I knew he was a great lover of it, and saw him cast the last of it into the fire, it excited in me a kind of merriment, & insensibly I smiled. Tecaughretanego observed me laughing, which displeased him, and occasioned him to address me in the following manner.—

*Brother,*

“ I have somewhat to say to you, and I hope you will not be offended when I tell you your faults. You know that when you were reading your books in town, I would not let the boys or any one disturb you ; but now when *I* was praying *I* saw you laughing. I do not think you look upon praying a foolish thing ; I believe you pray yourself. But perhaps you may think my mode or manner of prayer foolish ; if so you ought in a friendly manner to instruct me, and not make sport of sacred things.—

I acknowledged my error, and on this he handed me his pipe to smoke, in token of friendship and reconciliation ; though at that time he had nothing to smoke but red willow bark. I told him something of the method of reconciliation with an offended God, as revealed in my Bible, which I had then in possession. He said he liked my story better than that of the French Priests, but he thought that he was now too old to begin to learn a new religion, therefore he should continue to worship God in the way he had been taught. He said that he believed that *Owaneeyo*



would hear and help every one that sincerely waited upon him.—Here we may see how far the light of nature could go; perhaps we see it here almost in its highest extent. Notwithstanding the just views that great man entertained of providence, by considering how wonderfully he and all creatures were fed, yet we now see him (though he acknowledged his guilt) expecting reconciliation with God, and to procure his favour, by burning a little tobacco. We may observe that all heathen nations, as far as we can find out either by tradition or the light of nature, agree with revelation in this, that sacrifice is necessary, or that some kind of atonement is to be made, in order to remove guilt, and reconcile them to God.—This accompanied with numberless other witnesses, is sufficient evidence of the rationality and truth of the scriptures.

*Extract from page 57.*

Some time in July 1758, the Ottawas, Jibwas, Pottowatomies, and Wyandotts rendezvoused at Detroit, & marched off to Fort Duquesne, to prepare for the encounter of General Forbes. The common report was that they would serve him as they did General Braddock and obtain much plunder. From this time until fall, we had frequent accounts of General Forbes's army, by Indian runners that were sent out to watch their motion. They spied them frequently from the mountains, ever after they left Fort Loudon.

Before General Forbes arrived at Fort Duquesne, he sent out Col. Grant with one thousand Highlanders and fifty Catawpas to reconnoiter; when they were out a little from the army the Catawpas told the Col. that they could guide him to Fort Duquesne in the night; and if he would take the advice of the Catawpa Captain he would show him how he might defeat the Indi-



dians. Notwithstanding the vigilance of the northern Indians, the artful Catawpas stole a march upon them, and lead Col. Grant in the night to a hill in sight of Fort Duquesne. The Catawpas, from this hill, went silently down to where they beheld the Indians on the outside of the fort, lying fast asleep. They made report of this to Col. Grant, and advised him to strip his men to their shirts, and as it was moon light they might know one another, and said they ; follow us and fall upon them with your broad swords (which the Highlanders then all carried) and you will certainly defeat them. The Col. then replied, that he would be guilty of no such cowardly action, that he would stay until daylight and show them Highland play ; the Catawpa Captain replied that if he would remain on that hill until daylight the enemy would show him Indian play, and that they would be cut off. When the Catawpa Captain found that the Col. would not take his advice he wept. Col. Grant remained on this hill until daylight, and the first thing that the Indians that were sleeping along the banks of the Alleghany, knew of their being on this hill was the sound of the drum and bagpipes by the break of day. The Indians then raised the yell and sallied up under the banks of the rivers, & as there was woods behind Grant, they partly surrounded him, & they were chiefly all killed or taken.

As Grant had his Highlanders in ranks, and very close order, and the Indians scattered and concealed behind trees, they defeated him with the loss only of a few warriors.\*

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*\*I had the above account of Grant's defeat from the Indians, and also from Captain Patrick Jack, who was with the Catawpas in this action.—And by keeping Journals I retained it.*

When Tecaughretanego heard the particulars of Grant's defeat, he said that he could not well account for his contradictory, and inconsistent conduct. He said as the art of war consists in ambushing and surprising our enemies, & preventing them from ambushing and surprising; Grant in the first place, acted like a wise experienced officer, in artfully approaching in the night without being discovered; but when he came to the place, the Indians were lying asleep outside of the fort, between him and the Alleghany river, in place of slipping up quietly and falling upon them, they beat the drum and played on the bagpipes. He said he could account for this inconsistent conduct no other way than by supposing that he had made too free with spirituous liquors during the night; and became intoxicated about daylight.

After this defeat the Indians held a council, but were divided in their opinions.—Some said that Gen. Forbes would now go back, as Dunbar had done when Braddock was defeated. Others supposed that he would come on. The French urged the Indians to stay and see the event;—but it was hard for the Indians to be absent from their squaws and children, at this season, as it was now late in the fall, so many of them returned home to their hunting. After this the remainder of the Indians and some Canadians, marched off in quest of Gen. Forbes and attacked him but were frustrated in their design. They said that Forbes's men were beginning to learn the art of war; that there were a great many American riflemen along with the red coats, who scattered out, and took trees, and were good marksmen, therefore they could not accomplish their design, and were obliged to retreat. When they returned from the battle to Fort Duquesne, the Indians concluded that they would return to their

hunting. The French endeavoured to persuade them to stay and try another battle. The Indians said if it was only the red coats they had to do with, they might subdue them, but they could not withstand *ashalacoa* or the great knife, which was the name they gave the Virginians. The French asked them to stay and fight them out of the fort. No, No; said the Indians; we understand fighting in the woods, but we do not understand your way of fighting; we want leg-room, we have done almost all the fighting that has been done. You may try them with your great guns, we will not be shut up in this point between these two great rivers, we spied the English from the hills and they are coming in number like the trees in the woods that cannot be counted.\*

The Indians then returned home to their hunting—and the French evacuated the fort, which Gen. Forbes came & took possession of without further opposition, late in the year 1758, and at this time began to build Fort-Pitt."

*Extract from page 34, &c.*

"In conversation with Tecaughretanego, I happened to be talking of the beaver's catching fish. He asked why I thought the beaver caught fish? I told him that I had read of the beaver's making dams for the conveniency of fishing. He laughed and made game of me and my book. He said the man that wrote that book knew nothing about the beaver.—The beaver never did eat flesh of any kind, but lived on the bark of trees, roots and other vegetables.—He said that he saw a beaver pictured at a hatter's shop.

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\*As Gen. Forbes had lost near one thousand men, at this time he could not have much more than six thousand, which they called like the trees in the woods.

with a fish in its mouth. If they had pictured an otter with a fish in its mouth, that would appear natural. Notwithstanding all he could say *I* was still inclined to believe my book, and in order to know certainly how this was, when we killed a beaver *I* carefully examined the intestines, but found no appearance of fish, *I* afterwards made an experiment on a pet beaver which we had, and found that it would neither eat flesh nor fish: therefore *I* acknowledged that the book *I* had read was wrong. *I* then enquired of Tecaughretanego why the beaver made such large dams? He said they were of use to them in various respects, both for their safety and food. For their safety, as by raising the water over the mouths of their subteraneous lodging places, they could not be easily found: & as beaver feeds chiefly on the bark of trees, by raising the water over the banks, they can cut down saplings for bark to feed upon without going out upon land: and when they are obliged to go out on land for this food they frequently are caught by the wolves. As the beaver can run upon land, but little faster than a water tortoise and is no fighting animal, if they are any distance from the water they become an easy prey to their enemy.—*I* went out with Tecaughretanego and some others a beaver hunting: but we did not succeed, and on our return we saw where several racoons had passed, we all made a halt, looking at the racoon tracks. As they saw a tree with a hole in it they told me to go and see if they had gone in thereat, and if they had to halloo, & they would come & take them out. When *I* came to the tree, *I* found they had gone past: but *I* saw another the way they had gone, and proceeded to examine that, and found they had gone up it. *I* then began to halloo but could have no answer. As it began to snow and blow most violently, *I* returned

and proceeded after my company, and for some time could see their tracks ; but the old snow being only about three inches deep and crust upon it, the present driving snow soon filled the tracks. As I had only bow, arrows, and tomahawk with me, and no way to strike fire, I appeared to be in a dismal situation—and as the air was dark with snow, I had little more prospect of steering my course than I would in the night. At length I came to a hollow tree, with a hole at one side that I could go in at. I went in, and found it was a dry place, and the hollow about three feet in diameter, and high enough for me to stand in. I found that there was also a large quantity of soft, dry, rotten wood round this hollow : I therefore concluded that I would lodge here ; and that I would go to work and stop up the door of my house. I stripped off my blanket, (which was all the cloths I had excepting breech-clout, leggins, and mockasons) and with my tomahawk fell to chopping and carrying broken wood, and setting it up on end against the hole until I had it three or four feet thick all round, excepting a hole I had left to creep in at. I had a block prepared that I could haul after me, to stop the hole. I took my tomahawk & cut the dry, rotten wood and beat it small ; with this I made my bed, like a hog bed, I stripped off my mockasons and danced in the centre of my bed, for about half an hour, in order to warm myself. In this time my feet & whole body were agreeably warmed.—The snow in the mean time, had stopped up all the holes so that my house was as dark as a dungeon ; though I knew it could not yet be dark out of doors. I then coiled myself up in my blanket, lay down in my little round bed, and had a tolerable night's lodging. When I awoke all was dark—not the least glimmer of light was to be seen. Immediately I recollected that I



was not to expect light in this new habitation, as there was neither door nor window in it.—I could hear the storm raging, and did not suffer much cold as I was then situated. I concluded I would stay in my nest until I was certain that it was day. When I had reason to conclude that it was surely day, I arose and put on my mockasons, which I had laid under my head to keep from freezing. I then endeavoured to find the door, and had to do all by the sense of feeling, and when I found the block I could not move it. I then supposed that the whole of the wood I had set around me was cemented together by the frost. (This is an extreme cold country, for we were then on the dividing waters betwixt Fort-Pitt and Prisque.) I then felt terrified.—Among all the hardships I had sustained, I never before knew what it was to be deprived of light—This with the other circumstances attending it appeared grievous; I went straightway to bed again, wrapped my blanket around me and lay and mused a while, I then prayed to Almighty God to direct and protect me as he had done heretofore. I recollected that a sled frozen so that two horses cannot move it, a small stroke of an axe will brake it loose. I again attempted to move away the block, which proved successful. I lay down on my back and kicked the block with all my might and by this means broke it loose. I then went out and found that a very great snow had fallen, above three feet in one night. But I was so rejoiced at obtaining the light, that all my other difficulties seemed to vanish.—I then went into my cell, and returned God thanks for having once more received the light. I belted my blanket about me, got my tomahawk, bow and arrows and went out of my den. And with some difficulty got to camp that same day.—On my arrival my indian friends appeared much



rejoiced and said that they never expected to see me again alive."

*" Extract from page 88.*

" As the indians are a sharp, active kind of people, and war is their principal study ; at this they have arrived at considerable perfection. We may learn of the indians what is useful and laudable and at the same time lay aside their barbarous proceedings. It is much to be lamented that some of our frontier riflemen are prone to immitate them in their inhumanity.—During the British war a considerable number of men from below Fort-Pitt, crossed the Ohio and marched into a town of friendly indians, chiefly Delawares, who professed the Moravian religion.—As the indians apprehended no danger, they neither lifted up arms nor fled. After these riflemen were some time in the town, and the indians altogether in their power, in cool blood, they massacred the whole town without distinction of age or sex. This was an act of barbarity equal to any thing I ever knew to be committed by the savages themselves, excepting the burning of prisoners.—Why have we not made greater proficiency in the indian art of war ? Is it because we are too proud to imitate them, even though it should be a means of preserving the lives of many of our citizens ? No ! we are not above borrowing language from them, such as homony, pone, tomahawk &c. which is of little or no use to us. I apprehend the reasons why we have not improved more in this respect, are as follows : No important acquisition is to be obtained but by attention and diligence : and as it is easier to learn to move and act in concert, in close order, in the open plain, than to act in concert in scattered order, in the woods ; so it is easier to learn our discipline, than the indian manoeuvres.

They train up their boys to the art of war from the

time they are twelve or fourteen years of age ; whereas the principal chance our people had of learning, was by observing their movements when in action against us. I have been long astonished that no one has written upon this important subject, as their art of war would not only be of use to us in case of another rupture with them ; but were only part of our men taught this art, accompanied with our continental discipline, I think no European power, after trial would venture to show its head in the American woods."

### ON THEIR POLICE OR CIVIL GOVERNMENT.

*Taken from page 81.*

" I have often heard of Indian Kings, but I never saw one.—How any term used by the Indians in their tongue for the chief man of a nation, could be rendered King I know not. The chief of a nation, is neither a supreme ruler, monarch or potentate.—He can neither make war nor peace, leagues nor treaties—he cannot impress soldiers, nor dispose of magazines—he cannot adjourn, prorogue, nor dissolve a General Assembly, nor can he refuse his assent to their conclusions, or in any way control them. With them there is no such thing as a hereditary succession, title of nobility or royal blood even talked of, the chief of a nation even with the consent of his assembly or council cannot raise one shilling of tax off the citizens, but only receive what they please to give as free and voluntary donations.—The chief of a nation has to hunt for his living as any other citizen. How then can they with any propriety be called King? I apprehend that the English were formerly so fond of the name of King, and so ignorant of their power, that they concluded that the chief man of a nation must be a King.—As they are illiterate, they consequently have no written code of laws. What

they execute as laws, are either old customs, or the immediate result of new councils.—Some of their ancient laws or customs are very pernicious, and disturb the publick weal. Their vague law of marriage is a glaring instance of this, as the man and his wife are under no legal obligation to live together, but part when they please; they have little form or ceremony among them, in matrimony, but do like the Israelites of old—the man goes in unto the woman, and she becomes his wife. The years of puberty and consent, are about fourteen for the women, and eighteen for the men.—Their frequent changing of partners prevents propagation, creates disturbances, and often occasions blood shed and murder : though this is commonly committed under the pretence of being drunk. Their impunity to crimes committed when intoxicated with spiritous liquors, or their admitting one crime as an excuse for another, is a very unjust law or custom. The extremes they run into in dividing the necessities of life, are hurtful to the publick welfare : though their dividing meat when hunting, may answer a valuable purpose; as one family may have success one day, and the other the next ; but their carrying this custom to the town, or to agriculture, is striking at the root of industry, as industrious persons ought to be rewarded, and the lazy suffer for their indolence. They have scarcely any penal laws : the principal punishment is degrading. Even murder is not punished by any formal law, only the friends of the murdered are at liberty to slay the murderer, if some atonement is not made. Their not annexing penalties to their laws, is perhaps not as great a crime, or as unjust and cruel, as the bloody penal laws of England, which we long shamefully practised. Let us also take a view of the advantages attending Indian police :

—they are not oppressed or perplexed with expensive litigation.—They are not injured by legal robbery—they have no splendid villains, that make themselves grand and great upon other people's labour—they have neither church nor state erected as money making machines.”

In the year 1764, Gen. Boquet carried on a campaign against the Indians, with about eight hundred old country soldiers, two battalions of Pennsylvania troops, and three hundred Virginia Volunteers. Col. Charles Lewis and Major Fields commanded the Volunteers.—As Gen. Boquet had found the benefit of fighting Indians the year before upon the hollow square, by the advice of Col. Barrett, he condescended to lay aside the old country mode of fighting, and acted upon said plan, this year also. He spent some time in training the troops to the hollow square exercise. The first field day, when the Light-Horse and Light-Infantry sallied out to surround, as the firing continued, some of the Light-Horse ran off and some of them cast the riders. After some time the horses stood fire, and the whole of the army became very expert in this new exercise, and could go through it with great alacrity.—After we left Fort-Pitt we marched on the oblong square, with flankers, and encamped on the hollow square. And in this manner we proceeded, down to the forks of Muskingum. We thought at this time that we were a great ways in the Indian country as it was further than any army had ever been before.—Then some of the Indians came into camp with a red flag and desired peace.—The Gen. told them that they should have no peace, until they delivered up all the prisoners that they had among them. They then brought in three hundred of the prisoners, who were but a small part of what they then had: they said that

the prisoners were far scattered, & as it was now late in the year, they could not get them collected : but said they would bring them all in the next spring. On this we came to a cessation of arms for six months. And as security of their bringing in the prisoners, the Gen. demanded six of their chiefs as hostages, which we were to keep until the prisoners came in. But when we came near to Fort-Pitt the hostages made their escape ; and so it rested in suspense for one year.—Then sir William Johnson, the King's agent patched up a peace with the Indians, but the prisoners were not brought in.—At this time I was lieutenant in a Pennsylvania company of riflemen, and also Indian interpreter : I met with some of my Indian kindred by adoption, and many acquaintances. They told me the reason they did not attack us, was because they could get no advantage of us as we marched and encamped in scattered order.—And imputed this to the Virginians ; (and truly it was Col. Barrett that first started this plan.) Some of them blamed me for laying the aforesaid plan ; but they were mistaken, for I had very little influence on the proud British Officers. The Indians also said if the red coats had come as usual in close order, that they could readily have subdued them.

*Extract from page 75.*

“ In the year 1778, the Indians made an attack upon the frontiers of Westmoreland county, Pennsylvania. I then raised men and pursued them, and the second day we overtook and defeated them. We likewise took four scalps, and recovered the horses and plunder which they were carrying off. At the time of the attack, Capt. John Hinkston pursued an Indian, both their guns being empty, and after the fray was over he was missing :—While we were enquiring about him, he came up seemingly unconcerned with a scalp



in his hand—he had pursued the Indian about a quarter of a mile, and tomahawked him. This same year, *I* was called upon to command four hundred riflemen on an expedition against the Indian town on French-Creek.—It was in November before *I* received orders from Gen. M'Intosh to march.—We then proceeded in the aforesaid manner; viz. in the oblong and hollow square. When we came to the village, we found it evacuated: And nothing was left but some dogs that had stayed behind.—We then pursued further than our orders called for: But being scarce of provision we returned to Fort-Pitt. In this rout we lost not one man, horse nor bullock.—

*I* apprehend, that the reason why we had no engagement, was because the Indians do not like to fight without they have the advantage. And we wanted at least to be upon an equal footing. Notwithstanding marching and encamping in the aforesaid manner proved successful in the three expeditions, as already stated, Is it not amazing that some of our Generals since that time; in place of learning wisdom by experience; they have imitated, Braddock and Grant? And by this means many hundreds of brave men and useful citizens were cut off, with scarcely any chance of defending themselves, and the wounded cruelly put to death, not one of them spared. Instance, (St. Clair's defeat; and in Harmer's battle, a number of regulars in close order were suddenly cut off.) *I* shall offer a few more reasons for my preferring the hollow square to the long line of battle. *I* apprehend that the hollow square exercise is the readiest learned; men in a few field days will learn to act in concert, and every one in some measure know what they are about. In this way we would preserve more lives and kill more of the enemy, because in the long line of battle if we



rush upon them they always have a reserve fire and those who have their guns loaded will lie concealed, give a close shot, and then speedily retreat; and as they are accustomed to running; and stripped ready for the race, it is hard, even for the Light-Horse to overtake them, in thick woods. But when we surround them, they will be exposed to our shot on every side of the tree; and then they cannot retreat without the loss of many of their men.—

When I was with the Indians and heard them often tell the many ways, that they took to fool the white people, and that they could kill fifty to one that was killed of them, I thought if ever I returned from captivity, that I would learn my nation how to fight Indians. Shortly after my return, I entered into the service with this design. Tho' I ranked as an Ensign; the proud British Officers would pay no attention to any thing I could say.—Yet at the same time; they knew no more about fighting Indians; than Indians do about ship building.

But I hope my fellow-citizens will give attention to what has been said; if they differ with me in judgment in some respects, yet they cannot get over the undeniable instances of the the awful effects of close order, and the benefit of the hollow square; or the long line of battle; as practised by Gen. Wayne.

### ON INDIAN TREATIES.

I shall begin with Indian traditions, relative to ancient treaties.—During my five years captivity the old Indians that were then alive, told me that when they held a treaty with Pennsylvania, that they gave them a long, soft, smooth talk, and also presents in order to obtain peace. But when they held a treaty with Virginia; they gave them a short hard talk. In the

first place they laid a very bright, shining, naked sword on a large table; and then told us that they wanted nothing but peace. But said they; if you ever again steal any horses or in any way injure any of our people, we will let you know what that instrument which you now see lying on that table was made for!—And so ended the treaty.—As the Pennsylvanians, made soft, smooth speeches, the Indians gave them the name of the feather. And the Virginians they called the Big Knife, which is the name they have for a sword. I only give this as Indian tradition. I also observe that it is well known, that the Pennsylvanians and Virginians; among several nations; are called by the aforesaid names until this day.—This circumstance appears in some measure to confirm the aforesaid Indian story; and if it is true, what did the Pennsylvanians gain by their mild speeches? The Indians called them women, and the Virginians men; and they suffered more by Indian depredations before Braddock's war than Virginia did.—At a treaty held at Muskingum in 1764. I was then a Lieutenant, & also Indian interpreter; at this time the Indians produced a large bundle of old papers relative to treaties, almost from the first settlement of Pennsylvania. The reason they gave for producing those papers was to show us how their fathers and our fathers lived in peace together: I thought at that time that if the Indians could only have read those papers, that they never would have brought them forward. Because it was a constant account of depredations committed by the Indians from time to time.—And this Quaker Government (as Pennsylvania then was) still either paid them for doing mischief, or hired them not to do so any more. For at every treaty they received presents. Their apology for killing on the frontier, was that bad white

men had brought rum among them, and that it was the rum that did it, and for stealing horses that they could not command their bad people. At one time they stole a number of Quaker children—and for returning them again received a large present.—After Gen. Forbes took possession of Fort-Pitt in 1759, the Indians held a treaty which they said was to be a permanent peace—Yet at the same time did not intend it should be so—but among themselves called it only a cessation of arms or a resting time until they could be better prepared for war. As they know little about a forgiving disposition, they construed all our specific speeches, as evident cowardice, because said they, if we had suffered as much from any nation as they have from us and had it in our power to conquer or drive them, we would not make peace with them on any terms.—But they spoke to us as moderately as if we had never injured them, therefore they surely must be afraid of us: because we can kill a great many of them, for one that they can kill of us.—This peace lasted about four years.

In May 1763, without any pretence of receiving any injury from the whites, and without giving any notice of their evil intention, unprovoked, the different nations united and came in a large body to Fort-Pitt: they killed and drove all the settlers near Fort-Pitt or on this side of the mountains. They encamped round Fort-Pitt and remained there about six months, and lived chiefly upon plunder. They made port holes in the banks of the rivers, and continued firing on the fort, day after day: they also continued shooting elevated arrows and with one of them wounded the commander.—This war continued two summers. Then a cessation of arms was made at Miskingum late in the year 1764. And a permanent peace was said to be made

the next year. In the year 1774, a war commenced with the Indians. This war was brought to a period this same year by the Big Kanhawa battle. If we could only learn to kill one indian for five they kill of us, they would soon be tired of war.—But the Virginians did more than this, in said battle they gained the victory with an inferior number: though they lost the most men.—The indians would not stand as they did to have one hundred men killed if they could possibly get away—Because their plan is to save their own men and kill us.—The next treaty was held in Pennsylvania, immediately after the British war: and when they made peace there, with the six nations, &c. a number of their best warriors were in league with the Shawanoes, Wiandots, &c. killing our friends in Kentucky.—The next treaty was Gen. Wayne's:—And was not he the best indian agent that ever we had? He did not soothe the indians with flattering, smooth speeches which they might interpret as cowardice, as they always have done: No he made them come to his terms—And therefore we have had three years longer peace under this last treaty, than we had under all the other four. Before this it was war and peace alternatively and the greatest part of the time was war. And now when Gov. Harrison has given the indians a severer stroke than they ever got from us, may we not have the prospect of a more permanent peace, if rightly managed? But I fear from what I have seen of the Fort-Wayne news in the papers, that they are falling too much upon the old plan of believing, soothing and flattering the Indians, which may have a direct tendency to make the indians saucy and cause them to conclude that we are afraid of them and prevent a lasting peace.

*Blackhoof's* speech is given as an evidence of the peaceable disposition of the indians. I look upon that

speech like the northward treaty, that was made with the six nations, &c. immediately after the British war. Notwithstanding their pretended friendship with the United States and peace with the northern states, their warriors were with the Shawanoes & killing our friends in Kentucky and continued to do so until Gen. Wayne's battle. From what I know of Indian proceedings I always believed that a number who professed friendship were with the Prophet. And now it appears evident. Because they are pardoned, and admitted to return to their respective tribes.—If the Prophet had defeated Gov. Harrison, with the loss only of a few men, and got all the plunder, he would soon have had a large party at his heels. And a general Indian war would then have been inevitable. Because the wise men among them that saw the dismal consequence, would not be able to prevent the mischief. Then what would Blackhoof's fine speech avail ?

*From a Cincinnati Paper.*—"I expected the Prophet and his brother, declaring that we would not on any terms, suffer such villains to reside in the limits of our authority.—It was proposed to deliver them up here or at Vincennes, this offer I declined accepting, and told the Indians we left the punishment of those persons to themselves."

This reminds me of what occurred at a treaty at Muskingum in 1764. Gen. Boquet demanded six of the Indian chiefs as security that they would fulfil their promise ; and bring in all the prisoners the next spring. They were about laying those hostages in irons : but they promised fair and said that they would not leave us: the Gen. believed them. But when the army was almost at Fort-Pitt ; those hostages made their escape. Just like the credulity of Gen. Boquet, I view

the abovementioned proceeding. When the Indians proposed bringing in the Prophet and his brother, ought not their sincerity to have been put to the test? Have not the unjust proceedings of those villains been the means of destroying the lives of many worthies? And is this to be passed by unjustly, or with impunity? When they proposed delivering them up should those Benhadads been let slip; or should we depend on the Indians' word that they would put him to death? As the Indians were at this time greatly terrified, in order to prevent war and save their own lives, if it had been insisted on it is likely they might have brought them in. But when it is left to themselves, they will never kill the Prophet and his brother; because their hearts were with them, or they would not have admitted numbers of their warriors from almost every nation to be with the Prophet, and not let us know it: and then tell us that there was but three hundred and fifty men fighting Gov. Harrison. If the Prophet and his brother had been delivered up, and put to death, might it not hereafter deter ill-disposed Indian chiefs from raising parties; and be the means of a permanent peace, and of preserving many lives, both of the Indians and whites? This is the very desire of my heart.—I expect that this is the honest desire of the Fort-Wayne gentlemen also.—But we have different views concerning the means of obtaining this desirable end.—As the Indians are very much terrified, I expect that they will now be glad of peace, except a British war breaks out; and even then, it is likely that they may lie neuter for some time. But if the British keep possession of Malden one summer season after war is proclaimed; there will be but very little prospect of peace with the Indians.

Because the upper lake Indians, the Ottowas, Jibwas &c. are such ene-

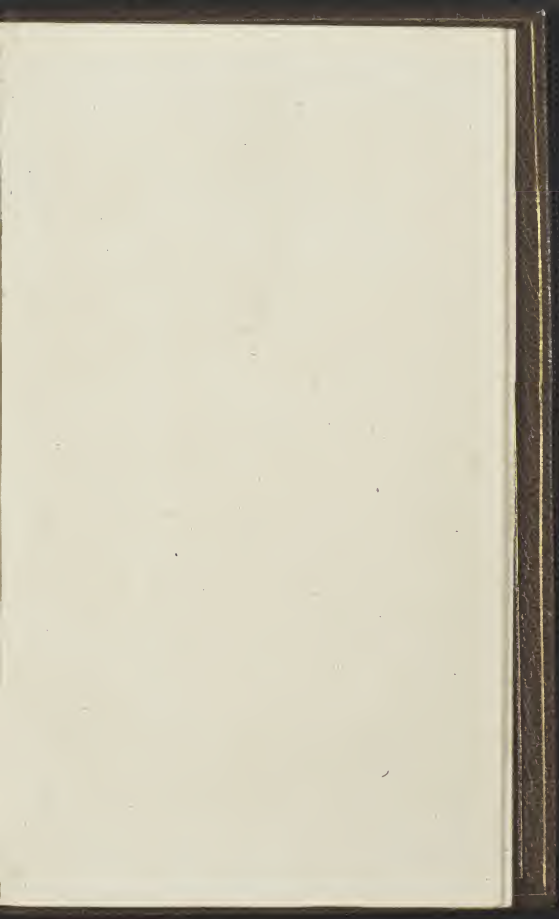


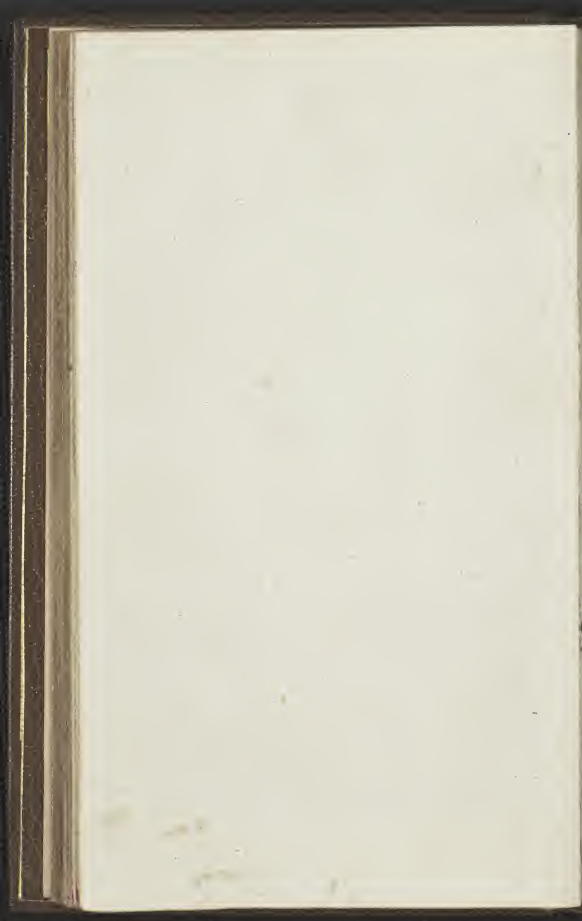
miles to us that they seldom, if ever adopt a prisoner of the Virginians, or Great Knife; as they call us now in Kentucky & Ohio: but either burn them to death or keep them as slaves.—The British can readily employ those worst of savages in their service and send them on our frontiers in various parts. Then it will be impossible for those nations that have promised neutrality, to be so, because as they are not at war with those hostile nations they must according to their rule give them provision as they pass; and numbers of their young men that are fond of war will go with them and their chiefs cannot prevent it.—This will destroy neutrality, as it hath formerly done in various instances.—The first I shall mention is that of the Moravian Indians. They proposed neutrality as our neighboring Indians do now, and settled betwixt us and the hostile tribes. Tho' I believe they intended neutrality yet it was impossible for them to obtain it, in the situation they were in; because the hostile Indians called upon them and got provision, and some of their young men went with them to war. Altho' I disapprove of the way that those Indians were massacred; as formerly mentioned; yet it was not without the height of provocation.—A large body of riflemen set out for the Sandusky town; not with any design to strike the Moravians: but called at their town in a peaceable manner; after some time they beheld some of those Indians wearing their friends' cloathes who had been killed and s'caped: and likewise various kinds of plunder that had been taken in the war; therefore they fell upon them and killed them all, old and young, male and female. If they had brought them all in prisoners, I think the Government would have approved of it.—In the year 1776, a number of the six nation chiefs came down to Philadelphia and held a treaty with the convention which was then sitting. As they did not expect to get any one on the convention that could speak their tongue, they brought an Indian with them that could speak English. But when they found that I could speak their tongue they insisted on me to interpret.—They proposed joining us in the war.—But were told that we did not want them to expose their lives in our cause: all that we desired of them was to remain neuter.—This they promised to do.—But the next year they joined with the British.—Another instance proving that it is hard to discriminate is as followeth. In the year 1774, some of the Shawanoes were ill-disposed.—But the six nations were for peace.—Some of those hostile nations committed depredations on the frontiers of Virginia. The Virginians pursued them, and near the trace found a camp, and supposing them to be the aggressors, killed them. But it was Logan's family a six nation chief: Logan was a sensible well disposed Indian, and a great friend to the whites; he was not at the camp when this slaughter was committed; but when he found what was done he was greatly exasperated. And he and the six nations then joined the other Indians in the war. If we have a war with the British, I know of but three ways that we can possibly avoid a general Indian war. That is, either to employ them in our service, or bring them into the heart of our country, or immediately to take possession of Malden.—A general Indian war in this quarter may cost more blood and treasure than the taking of Malden. And would it not be best to take it immedi-

ately after war is proclaimed and prevent this cost? And this would effectually secure peace with the Indians, because they cannot live without trade. And as Malden must be taken if possible; Would it not be best to take it at first and prevent an Indian war? Were I to be asked why I have said nothing concerning Col Washington's campaign in the year 1754, who was afterwards Gen. Washington, Commander in chief of the American Army?—I answer because I was not with him; neither have I any thing on record relative to that expedition.—Yet I may say this much—That tho' he was then a very young man, and had a subtle enemy to fight, he far out-Generaled all the British Generals that ever came after him in that quarter. *If what I have written should meet with general approbation, I have had some thoughts, of writing more largely on this subject, and having it bound; that it may be communicated to posterity, and be a means of saving many lives when I am dead and gone. Because Pamphlets are but a little more permanent than newspapers. But as I am now a very old man and scarcely any of my contemporaries, that were with me on Braddock's campaign now in the land of the living—It is likely this may be the last opportunity I may have of casting in my mite, in endeavouring to defend the lives and liberty of FREEBORN AMERICANS.*

Additional to what I have said on the Indian war and treaties, I shall lay before the publick an extract from a publication, entitled a Journal of a tour in the territory, N. W. of the Allegheny mountains: made in the year 1803; by Thaddeus Mason Harris, A. M. printed at Boston, 1805.—“As soon as the war with Great Britain ceased, measures were taken by Government for effecting a peace with the hostile tribes.—In 1784, a treaty was held and peace concluded with the six nations at Fort Stanwick: and in 1785, another treaty was formed between the western and southern tribes.—New treaties were concluded in July 1789, but fresh disturbances and depredations taking place, it was necessary to take coercive measures with them. It appears by respectable evidence, that from the year 1790, until the month of October 1803, that on the Ohio, and the frontiers on the south of said river, they killed, wounded, and took prisoners, about fifteen hundred men, women and children, besides carrying off upwards of two thousand horses, and other property to the amount of fifty thousand dollars.”—And what was all this to the many thousands that were killed & taken prisoners in Braddock's war and the war after that; and the immense property that was then destroyed by fire; and the plunder carried off.—And in the whole of this war with the Indians, from first to last, I do not believe that we killed or took one Indian; for twenty that they killed or took of us. And is it not high time that we should improve in the Indian art of war? and when we take a view of the many treaties that have been made and broken, may we not see that nothing but fear and interest will bring the Indians to a permanent peace? Ought we not to let the Indians know that we are their superiors, & yet at the same time use them well, & deal honestly with them? Tho' I know that what I have written is the truth (errors excepted) yet I do not ask my fellow-citizens to believe me implicitly, if reason and the many undeniable instances do not prove it.

*This was written shortly after Harrison's battle & not printed till June 1812.*





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